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a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are now adopting in response to the impact of the white man's power? This is the question to be explored in the next section of this chapter. I shall put foward the suggestion that the Orokaiva actually developed an interesting and satisfactory explanation of recent cultural changes, using the concept of a new *deme* who set new exchange cycles into motion. In demonstrating this point, I shall quote at length from informants' statements so as to indicate clearly the nature of the primary evidence on which I have drawn.

2. *A New Starting Mechanism*

I shall begin by quoting a tape-recorded speech made by a member of the Higaturu local government council at a meeting held at Torogota village, Sasembata valley.[2] The reader may well doubt the sincerity of this speech, as I did myself when I first heard it. I discovered, however, that councillors frequently address meetings in similar terms. Trusted Sivepe informants told me that the recorded speech is typical of what that councillor usually said. It was elicited when I asked the men of Torogota for tales about olden times (*iji matu*).

The councillor started with a sketch of the wars of his forebears. His 'grandfather' Bohuka, with a group of migrants from Waseta, and other villages, drove off the inhabitants of a village called Hingo Kakasita and settled on the land of that village:

> Today his grandchildren call this our land, but they are weak grandchildren of strong ancestors. . . . All this is communal land (*company enda*) conquered by our forebears. As a new day has now arrived, I tell you to be united. Therefore you must follow my instructions. The councillor for Sasembata is speaking. Everybody who speaks north, east, south or west should now stop.
>
> Now I am speaking about this old village here. I am Councillor Ase. I am saying: follow this word and hear it. I shall therefore tell you how they (i.e. the Europeans, the *taupa*) talk: 'Those men were all felling the tree. The man whose name I mentioned was a fighting man. His enemies killed the wayfarer like a dog. The Waseta people beat and chased them, came here and stayed.'
>
> I am councillor Ase. Here we live, people, in this very old village. We are the descendants of fighting ancestors, therefore we live here. We say that we live in the land where the *seha* grows (a useless bush tree) or where the *inota* grows (a useless cane looking like a sugar cane) or on *gindiri* (i.e. sandy, infertile) soil. We stay in an old village, but people are saying we are living on communal land; we are staying on a place we took during a raid. They are saying: 'The Waseta men had weak descendants. They stayed here because they were defeated.'

A little later during the same recording session, Councillor Ase spoke again. This time he started with a description of various magical powers traditionally possessed by the Orokaiva. He continued:

> In those days people did these things. They did not take jobs for only Jesus Christ gave jobs that people could take. The village constable bound people (with handcuffs) and took them if he believed they were telling lies. He took them to Kokoda and Court was held; then they would start work . . .

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When a summons was issued by the village constable, then those magic things were put to work (to save the accused from conviction) . . .

In those days men worked for a while but then stopped shifting the earth. The village constable bound them and they went to court in Kokoda. If the court thought they were lying or if they said 'I don't know,' they were taken away and the governor stopped their work. This is the tale of those men of olden days.

Although the passages quoted here are full of obscurities, the situation in which these speeches were delivered makes them worthy of careful analysis. The councillor, who was born in Torogota, had recently moved to Kongohambo, a neighbouring village built in modern style. Some families had accompanied him, but he wanted Torogota village to be abandoned altogether and the whole population transferred to Kongohambo. In his first speech, he gave reasons with which he hoped to persuade his people. We are thus given a glimpse of the social philosophy of his listeners. Although the latter had no intention of leaving Torogota, they did share the basic sentiments to which the councillor appealed. They agreed communal ownership of land was no longer quite fashionable, the village was getting too old, too much land was lying idle, it was bad for labourers to be unreliable, it was bad to kill wayfarers like dogs. They desired to emulate the feats of their ancestors and they knew this could no longer be done by raiding neighbouring villages. This traditional road to renown is no longer open; obviously, new roads have to be found.

The main burden of the councillor's speech was that his people had not found these new roads to power: *ivo ambupu-ta ahihijera*. (Strong ancestors have reared feeble descendants.) *Ivo* (strength, power) is a basic concept in Orokaiva thought, and is somewhat similar to the Polynesian concept *mana*. It is the quality that enables man to be successful in 'ways with which ordinary technique cannot cope' (Firth 1967: 191). It is transmitted to a man by his father at the time of conception, and is augmented by the fact of success, and particularly by the killing of an animal or an enemy, the eating of meat, or the making of gifts. Bohuka, the ancestor of the councillor's lineage, and his companions, undoubtedly had *ivo* which was augmented by their conquests, but his descendants who inherited this *ivo* stood to lose it unless they themselves achieved something of commensurate importance. The Orokaiva, unlike the Tikopia, do not think of this magical efficacy as being essentially an attribute of chiefs or leaders, though men of influence do have *ivo* to an exceptional degree. In the terms of the theory developed in the present work, *ivo* is always an object of exchange, received from an exchange partner, often in the form of meat, as will be shown in Chapter VII. The ultimate source of *ivo*, however, are *dema* figures such as Totoima and Pekuma who first gave *ivo* to man.

The councillor's second speech is one of several pieces of evidence that lead me to suggest that the Orokaiva regard Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure and a powerful source of *ivo*. A Papuan pastor was the first to put this idea to me when we discussed an Orokaiva dance performed at his Church during the Christmas service. The dancers, dressed in traditional garb and beating drums, filing in a wide circle past the cross erected on the mission station, sang a traditional chant originally performed after a victim had been killed in a cannibal raid. The pastor drew my attention to the similarity between the killing of such

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539 776 177 [535] a victim and Christ's Passion. He also pointed out that by performing this chant, the dancers were sacrificing their bodies to Christ. There was no harm in this performance, he said, because the sentiments in both forms of religion were the same.

Councillor Ase added a more earthy dimension to the pastor's words when he declared that it was Jesus Christ who had given the Papuans the benefit of wage labour. This sentiment might have appealed to Governor Murray. It completes the image of Jesus as *dema*. First, Jesus was killed and gave His body to mankind, or to His followers, by being crucified. His body is still being consumed at Communion services, the deep sacredness of which the Papuans recognise. He also left behind him immense *gifts*: the technology (cargo) of the white man, and money with which men may acquire this cargo. Wage labour is one of the means now open to the Papuans for acquiring at least a little of this money and cargo. Thirdly, like all *dema*, he left behind a set of rules which men have to follow if they are to obtain full access to the particular kind of *bo* he bequeathed upon mankind.

182 771 776 177 It now becomes a little clearer how the Orokaiva have found a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are adopting in response to the impact of white power. The coming of the white man is viewed as an event of the same magnitude as the addition of a new *dema* to the pantheon. The most crucial fact about this new *dema* is that it was through his help that the white man obtained extraordinary wealth and power. It was hinted to me from time to time that the white man should have been far more generous in sharing this wealth and power with the Papuans. At the same time, however, it was emphasised that the Orokaiva had already received some substantial benefits, for example the introduction of money, wage labour and cash cropping. My informant the councillor, whose contact with white authority had been somewhat closer than was usual in the district, claimed special knowledge about how European-type power might be obtained. It was on the basis of this knowledge that he felt entitled to advise his people to shift to another village. But his audience did not really believe he knew anything.

[623] [115]

While the councillor's competence was doubted, his basic ideas were generally accepted: Orokaiva progress was thought to depend on the following of prescriptions originating from the *dema* Jesus Christ. The white man had revealed only part of these prescriptions. (In this respect Orokaiva beliefs resembled those reported by Burridge 1960, 1969.) It was thought, moreover, that these rules prescribed ritual acts performed for the first time by Jesus Christ and now imitated by those who are fully initiated in His mysteries. While these Orokaiva beliefs may impede their understanding of the workings of white society, they do provide a rationale for those white behaviour patterns which Orokaiva are able to observe. They also provide a charter for the changes Orokaiva are actually adopting in their exchange system and elsewhere.

177 773 [731] One experience at Hohorita made me aware how closely the introduction of Western culture is identified with the action of traditional *dema*. Due to the death of most of the older men of the Sangara tribe at the time of the eruption, their descendants grew up at Hohorita without much knowledge of myths and traditions. Nonetheless, when I visited the village, a number of men spent several nights with me telling me what they knew. Their information would mostly be

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dismissed by a seeker of ancient lore, but contained some myths of obviously recent vintage which helped me to understand contemporary Orokaiva thought. I was told that before the Europeans came, the Orokaiva used to make only very small gardens. They were in constant danger of starvation and depended greatly on wild fruit. I copied the names of these, but was told that many of them were never eaten nowadays. (Many are inedible.) In those days, people did not make feasts as they did not grow enough food. The large gardens people have at the present time were introduced only when the Europeans brought steel axes and knives.

In other villages I was told similar stories about a primordial state of wretchedness when people cultivated no taro but ate wild fruit now considered inedible. But this period ended when the *dema* introduced the elements of traditional Orokaiva culture. In Hohorita, culture history had become foreshortened. Other Orokaiva distinguished the traditional *dema* stories which occurred in the dim past from the stories concerning the arrival of the Europeans; they recognised in fact *two* periods of fundamental change: one ancient and complete, the other recent and incomplete. In Hohorita tradition, these two periods have to some extent become fused. The premature death of men born between, say, 1890 and 1910 deprived the men of today of any factual knowledge of the coming of the European: it has already been turned into myth and placed, so to speak, *in illo tempore*. But this unusual development only emphasises how closely the gifts of European culture are identified with those of traditional *dema*.

The chairman of the Higaturu Local Government Council, who also happened to live at Hohorita, had long conversations with me about the constitution and activities of the council. On one occasion I wished to discover to what extent the council had been set up in response to popular aspirations and to what extent the councillors (as opposed to the Australian adviser) made decisions on basic policy. Answer: because the government had a council at Rabaul, it decided to have one in the Northern District as well. Did the people want the council? They had been given schools; they had been given coffee to market. They therefore thought the council would also be good. Would it not be better for the people to decide for themselves how their problems should be solved instead of leaving all decision-making to the government? The council did not come from ourselves but from the administration. We do not know about the council. It belongs to the administration and it was given to the village people.

The Department of District Administration had recommended this informant to me as being the most knowledgeable in the district on the subject of the council. I found his knowledge of the facts to be most accurate, and at council meetings he was the only man who dared to argue with the advisory officer. But when I questioned him on the level of social philosophy, he fell back on the standard Orokaiva explanation: power and strength come to us not from things we have invented or made ourselves, but from things that have been given to us by our exchange partners. This is precisely what Councillor Ase said: if the Orokaiva of today desires to have an *ivo* equal to that of his ancestors, he has to follow the instructions of the council, i.e. to build a new village, grow coffee, individualise land titles. This, at the present time, is his best available source of power and strength. In other words, it is not a matter of villagers independently

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623 657 177 working out a development policy, but rather of obeying a sacred formula that came to the Australian authorities from a *dema*-like source and was then passed on as a gift to the Orokaiva.

829 [123] Are all these gifts derived ultimately, in Orokaiva estimation, from Jesus Christ, or are there other *dema* figures as well to whom these gifts are ascribed? Who would they be? This is a hard subject for a white anthropologist to inquire into. Informants answer: 'We do not know. Nobody has told us.' The anthropologist feels uneasily that if anyone knows the source of Western wealth and power, it ought to be himself rather than his informants.

3. *New Exchange Cycles*

121 The image of post-contact history reconstructed here from statements by Orokaiva informants seems unduly dreamlike and idealised. This is because they are statements about the metaphysical starting mechanisms making social relations possible. Turning to the relationships themselves, I find that they are often marred by a severe conflict of interests and values. For the purpose of a brief overview, we shall consider relationships with representatives of three types of European-introduced institutions: church, commerce, and government. Following our theoretical scheme, we shall be especially interested in the objects that are exchanged in these relationships and in the mediating elements that make possible social exchange.

461 466 829 437 177 An employer of Papuan labour is interested chiefly in obtaining the compliance of his workers by the payment of money. Usually he is not at all interested in social exchange, but in a contract whereby he acquires the total work output of the worker for the period he is on the job. The Orokaiva, however, regards all the work he does as part of a social relationship with the person for whom he works. First of all, he expects that person to feed him while he is working. This is because he has been prevented by the person he is helping from going to his own garden. The employer in New Guinea usually does feed his workers, subtracting the cost of the food from the wages he pays. But secondly, the Orokaiva, lacking a long tradition of wage labour, regards his work as a long series of gifts to his employer enabling him to claim return gifts. He does not think of his wages as being a total discharge of his employer's obligations. They were promised at the beginning, but since then many unpredictable things have happened: he has loyally looked after his employer's interests in a series of small crises; he finds he has additional urgent needs he did not envisage when he agreed to come to the job; he believes his labour has yielded his employer vast profits. As the Orokaiva understand a social partnership, events of this kind all create a claim upon the person who has received help. Thus, the worker keeps on pressing his employer most persuasively for extra gifts of various sorts, in addition to his wages. This pattern is found throughout New Guinea and is known as the *baksheesh* system. Employers often give in to the demands, hand out various extras, and allow for these costs in plantation budgets.[3]

466 437 177 The basic significance of the *baksheesh* has already been pointed out by Mauss (1966: 250–5, 229–32); '*La chose ainsi transmise est, en effet, chargée de l'individualité du donateur.*' It rests on a notion that both worker and

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657 constables, instructed them to report any trouble, visited the villages, looked for
177 evidence of non-compliance with instructions, punished delinquents, left further
625 instructions with the village constable and threatened further punishment. The trouble with this procedure was that the changes it could produce were of rather limited scope. All the Orokaiva needed to do to keep the patrol officer satisfied was to attend to things that could be seen on a visit (the state of the roads, houses, latrines, the grass in the villages, the quota of obligatory rubber trees, etc.) and to avoid the kind of trouble the village constable could not help reporting (murders, serious dissensions).

657 Social and economic development, however, depends on the communication
177 of ideas, on encouraging regular schooling, use of medical facilities, cash-
623 cropping, the development of markets, participation in local government, preparing the young for careers outside the district, encouraging capital formation and entrepreneurship, improvement of agricultural techniques, land titles, and so on. In the 1950s, when the government became deeply interested in these objectives, it created local government councils, abolished village constables, and rather forcefully changed its emphasis from the enforcement of compliance to the inducement of collaboration. Some of the Australian officers told me they found this shift rather frightening: if there was no jail for non-compliance, how could one be sure that the Orokaiva would take any notice? On the other hand, Orokaiva conservatives found the shift in policy frightening for the opposite reason: as they told me, the village constables left Orokaiva social life virtually intact, except that occasionally someone would be sent to jail for a while – a mere ripple on the surface of community affairs. But since the government councils were established, and the councillors came round regularly making long speeches, and since the new institutions listed above had actually been demonstrated to be useful, the foundations of the old way of life were beginning to be undermined.

With the help of the councillors, the government's ideas were certainly being communicated, but hardly ever by the government's own officers.[4] The only white officers who regularly visit villagers are young, inexperienced patrol officers, dependent on interpreters. Speech-making is only a minor part of their role and not the most successful. All the councillors I have heard, however, are master propagandists. As the government's aim is clearly the communication of ideas, it would be hard to find a more efficient method than the present one, where the government communicates to the councillors and leaves the latter to do the rest.

An interesting and somewhat unusual exchange cycle results from these transactions. The exchange partners are the government and groups of Orokaiva villagers. The objects of exchange are information (emanating from the government) and respectful attention (on the part of the villagers). I use this term 'respectful attention' as the nearest translation of Orokaiva *ingari* which means 'to hear', 'to understand', 'to follow advice' – and comes closer than any other word in the Orokaiva vocabulary to the notion of obedience and compliance. The exchange cycle may be expressed in the following diagram:

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MODEL 7

657 177 623

The elements of mediation are entirely indispensable in this relationship. Unless there is development activity, the government will feel that the relationship has broken down. Unless the councillors intervene, the government's information cannot be communicated.

Both the villagers and the government find this exchange cycle highly precarious. It is precarious for the villagers because social exchange, for the Orokaiva, implies a state of competition between the partners. It is unprofitable to engage in social exchange with a partner unless one can hope to equal him (and even better him) in wealth and power. This desire to equal (and defeat) the Europeans competitively is an ambition of which informants spoke to me occasionally when I came to know them well. It was quite clear to the Orokaiva that they could never achieve this objective by growing coffee on small village plots. Hence, they could not regard the activity advocated by the government as being worth engaging in for its own sake. The question facing them was: will this activity serve our ultimate end of achieving equivalence or victory? The term 'development activity', as used in model 7 implies that it is thought to serve this ultimate end. 657 177

I demonstrated in the previous chapter that all elements of mediation are essentially magical. The Orokaiva similarly regard development activity as magical. In response to this notion, government officers sometimes evolve rules of behaviour that look remarkably like magical formulae. One officer in the Northern District invented a regular weekly calendar which he thought the Orokaiva should follow. Certain days of the week should be set aside for coffee growing, others for growing and marketing extra garden crops, others for cleaning and improving the village, and so on. I heard the officer proclaim this calendar; later, I heard a councillor proclaim it in Sivepe village. It was listened to with respectful attention, but afterwards ridiculed by the village men. The formula was rejected because it was thought to be useless. There was, of course, a plethora of such formulae circulating as many officers thought up their own, and most officers were rapidly transferred from one job to another. It was natural, therefore, for the Orokaiva to become selective in the formulae they adopted. Also, experience showed them that the formulae did not always work. 657 177 241 789

The difference between this modern magic and the traditional varieties lies in the greater uncertainty of the prescription. The Orokaiva habitually use an experimental approach to magic: if one medicine does not work, then try another. But all traditional medicine has at least an impeccable source: it was given by the ancestors. The magic of 'development' (money, Western technology, Western power) was, in Orokaiva belief, ultimately derived from Jesus 177 657 789

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177 Christ and perhaps other supreme sources of which they have no knowledge, but
657 these ultimate sources mostly seem inaccessible to the Orokaiva; the people
[789] know their information to be poor and unreliable. Nonetheless, as the councillor from Hohorita remarked, it has been found by experience that the gifts deriving from the government have often been good ones. The relationship is therefore worth maintaining as it may produce further valuable gifts in the future. (This widely held opinion, incidentally, is the bane of Papuan progressives, who are pressing for immediate independence of the Territory from Australian rule).

Although, in an attempt to make my meaning clear, I have spoken of the magic of 'development', it is important to point out that the term 'development' has not been borrowed, to my knowledge, in Orokaiva speech. The Orokaiva term is *iji eha* (the new day), a phrase occurring, for instance, in the passage quoted from Councillor Ase's address. The *iji eha* has come about, as we have seen, as the result of the gifts of a new *dema*, Jesus Christ. One of these gifts was a permanent peace, to replace the permanent state of *isoro* of earlier days. But this gift was accompanied by new commandments. Councillor Ase emphasised the casual connection between the gift and the commandments: 'As a new day has now arrived (*oroho evi iji eha avo eto*,), I tell you to be united.' Like *isoro*, so the *iji eha* requires unity, but for the sake of struggles of a different kind: the building of a new village, the growing of coffee and rubber, the support of school education. The commandments of the *iji eha* are in effect community development.

177 It may thus be said without hyperbole that community development among
657 the Orokaiva has a mythological charter – namely, the Christian religion as the
797 Orokaiva understand it. It acts as a mediating element between the Orokaiva and the European power-bearers: it is the magic whereby a relation of social exchange may be established between the former and the latter and whereby the Orokaiva may eventually become the equals of the white man in wealth and power.

177 But the second mediating element in this relationship is the councillors,
657 through whom the government's information must pass to reach the people.
623 They do not play the role of leaders but of mediators in a rather limited sense. In their contact with the government (mainly confined to contact with the advisory officer to the council), they receive information and hear council decisions in the formulation of which they generally have no part. The flow of information tends to be from the government to the councillors rather than in the reverse direction. This one-sidedness suits both parties, but especially the councillors, who gain little but may lose much by adding to the government's knowledge. At the village level, the councillor tends to become the chief mouthpiece of the *iji eha*. He is expected to report faithfully, and in detail, what he has heard from the government. His advice will be asked on matters related to council activities, but most of the time it is the councillor himself who takes the initiative and harangues the villagers. He does not expect all his advice to be accepted; he may even have private doubts about some of what he is
[191] transmitting. A Sivepe ex-councillor even had the habit of reporting on all council matters in Motu, a *lingua franca* used at council meetings because the advisory officer does not know Orokaiva. Most Sivepe people understand some
[554] Motu. By speaking in Motu to his fellow-villagers, the councillor built up his own

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status while at the same time establishing some distance between his official performance and his private self. Even when a councillor does not resort to so extreme a device, his role is a highly formalised one, as the values underlying his message are very strange to him. The *iji eha*, as communicated at the council meeting, is almost outside his mental grasp. He has heard the details but cannot see the pattern. (The council meetings are not suited to the communication of the complex patterns of Western civilisation.) Fortunately his audience is usually warm and sympathetic to his message and shares with him the mood, the 'feeling' of the *iji eha*, if little else.

4. *The New Day, the Mission and Divine Retribution*

Relationships with the mission in the Northern District have usually been of two main types. When a mission station was first established, exchange relations between Orokaiva and the station began immediately. The mission offered schooling, medical services and largesse of various sorts. The Orokaiva offered land and labour. These were direct exchanges requiring no mediating elements. The mission was usually in no great hurry to begin baptising converts, preferring to let interested persons rise gradually from the status of hearer to catechist and conferring baptism some years later. Although coastal stations were established around the turn of the century, it was only after the Second World War, when a considerable number of stations and outstations were established inland, that the majority of Orokaiva came within reach of mission influence. The Sasembata station[5] serving Sivepe was not opened until 1945 and had no baptisms until 1953. The bulk of the population of that village was converted between 1953 and 1964.

It was then that the second, and more complex, phase of the relationship started. In the first phase there had been a great deal of contact between people and mission station, especially because of the educational services that were offered, but it was only in the second phase that these contacts became religiously significant. We may express the emerging relationship in the following diagram:

MODEL 8

Although this exchange cycle seems, on the surface, to represent more or less the relationship between any Christian and his Church, it seems arbitrary to select from the complex set of mediating elements enriching the fullness of such a relationship as commonly understood just these two sacraments, important as they are. It is only in the light of the Orokaiva understanding of the Church that

128 Besides data collected on a standard series of topics investigated in the related series mentioned above, our report also includes discussion of the relationships between land tenure and land use on the one hand and residential and local organisation on the other - questions which have been raised by anthropologists and administrators writing on this Orokaiva area.

731 178 [623] The population displaced and resettled after the eruption were almost all mountain Orokaiva; one legacy of these events was the protracted complication of land tenure, which some of the people later found an obstruction when they were caught up in a general increase in enthusiasm for cash-cropping. This coincided with the formation of the Higaturu Council whose membership consisted in large part of the mountain Orokaiva.

657 178 Community development plans made after the eruption[1] were never successfully launched, but the tenure situation in the council territory and specific areas of acute land-consciousness are the problems which patrol staff felt made it essential to regularize the tenure of cash crops at this time.

24 178 [361] In 1951 Keesing expected that the marked trend towards larger settlements witnessed after the eruption would, as a matter of course, be reversed as circumstances permitted villagers to revert to their normal horticulture involving frequent rotation of cultivated areas; paradoxically, it was in view of the spreading enthusiasm of the Orokaiva for a more intensive, commercial agriculture about 5 years later, that some mission staff anticipated similar fragmentation of the same large villages.

361 178 [12] Considerable topical interest is given to the question of the connections between settlement patterns, agricultural systems and title to land by current changes in the Orokaiva area which have implications of further radical adjustments in residential patterns. In a recent development a few local government councillors had initial success in advocating the consolidation of villages apparently as a means of establishing an economic base for the provision of local services or amenities. Members of Sivepe and other villages decided to rebuild together on land near Sasembata (K. Waddell: personal communication). Staff of the mission have for many years favoured this type of settlement among its Orokaiva parishioners.[2] [65] Although, with consistent effort, patrol staff of the Department of District Administration achieved the periodic amalgamation of pre-eruption villages, the department did not endorse the recent move and pointed out that councillors acted independently of any decision of the council or advice of its executive.

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[1] Mentioned by Belshaw, 1951.. [2] See Crocombe, 1964:31.

249 recent agricultural census listed 55 stands with 13,700 trees in
433 the Saiho Census Division (which coincides roughly with the 'Periho'
311 area) and another 3,700 trees in the Sangara Census Division. However, according to the 1964 census there were 14 Saiho villages with stands, carrying 10,000 rubber trees altogether, 4,500 of them less than 6 years old and another 3,500 less than 10 years old.[1] There were also 46 individually-held plots recorded with 8,000 trees, all less than 10 years old. The total number of rubber trees on village-stands in the Saiho, Sangara, and Togahau Census Division was put at almost 26,000.

249 The agreement between the lessee and the villagers was modified
657 in 2 ways after the war. When the scheme was resumed in 1943 the
[434] Administration decided that in order to facilitate the handling of money, the royalty to be paid to the owners should be changed from a percentage basis to a flat rate of a shilling twice a year per tree tapped;[2] and the royalties set aside every 12 months by the lessee were sometimes withheld by the District Office so that the people did not receive payment for more than 18 months, although the contract provided for half-yearly payments.

249 Until 1946 local villagers were employed by the lessee to tap
[464] their stands. A tapper would work in his own area but his task necessarily included some stands belonging to nearby villages other than his own. This caused some misunderstanding at first but the owner's suspicions were eventually allayed.

[625] The Village Constables had been responsible for seeing that
[623] the magistrate's instructions were obeyed when the plantations were established but apparently the Village Councillor in some cases assumed control over the distribution of the income among the 'owners', who were listed in 1 schedule of the agreement, although the money was shared under the supervision of a government official. One man recalled that 1 delayed payment of £114 was made for rubber from a number of stands owned by members of his village; he claims that the money was shared by more men than those named in the agreement drawn up several years before.

The lessee believes that the stage at which contract arrangements were conducted to the best effect and greatest satisfaction of the villagers was the period 1943-6 when he arranged to employ some of them as paid tappers.[3]

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[1] These would include self-sown trees.

[2] There is no evidence to support Belshaw's assertion (1951:13) that the owners were at one time receiving a royalty of only 6 pence per tree.

[3] In September 1943 government officers reported that there was a good daily yield as the trees were in good condition.

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the [651] period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about [623] March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its [797] annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions [436] to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCCS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income [771] is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western [493] Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

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[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

plus other amounts of unknown size--enough for the projected establishment of a trade store. Rimoldi's report suggests that cooperation between the villages for this project was difficult to attain; the mission teacher who was to coordinate the project withdrew. (1963: 107-108) After Rimoldi left, one of the Sivepe clans (Jegase) evidently went ahead with some scheme to open a trade store at Sivepe and lost all its money. There was some dishonesty on the part of someone, but I did not try to explore this. When I arrived, the plan to open a trade store was still alive, but people did not like the idea of its being operated by a clan; one of the families of the Jegase clan was playing with the idea of raising some money and starting one. It seems likely that the savings accumulated by the Timmy clan, to which Rimoldi refers, were lost along with the Jegase savings.

In 1966, two group savings accounts were in operation. People had no project in mind for which these savings were intended, but it was felt to be salutary to have savings because there would be no chance otherwise, as I was told, to reach equal status with Europeans. One of these savings accounts was for the whole village, and this is probably the one opened in 1961, referred to by Rimoldi. In 1966, when these bonds matured, the Seho clan leader brought all the money home in two-dollar bills and handed these to each contributor at a meeting. Most of the contributors handed their money back for later investment. The second savings account was operated by one clan, for the purpose of its own bride price and similar payments; as it was clan money, the facts about it were secret. The village fund contained $158.

The only cooperative effort known to me at Inonda was a regular arrangement by which vegetables grown at Inonda were carted to the Imbi Hospital and sold there, in 1967. Towards the end of 1966, some vegetables were sold in the same way to the government in Popondetta. In this case, the proceeds were shared between individual growers. The arrangement was the result of contact between the man who had become a government driver and the appropriate authorities. The carrier was an affine.

Finally, a notable aspect of social organisation in the post-eruption period is the emergence of leaders whose authority rests on two sources: status in traditional terms and status conferred by Australian-sponsored organisations. The village constables could sometimes be so classified, at least superficially. Only on rare instances, however, were they champions of Western values who sought to influence the minds of the people towards acceptance of these values. They did not ask their people to accept Australian organisations as a source of authority (if Weber's definition of this term be accepted) but only to recognise them as an effective source of compulsion. The people of Sivepe, as well as Hohorita werevery much aware that the position of the councillors and committees, successors of the village constables, was very different. The councillor's job was to preach the doctrine of the "new way;" people would tell me how bored they

were to hear this message all the time; yet they came to listen and speakers managed to introduce enough news and good oratory to hold general attention. Furthermore, both in discussion after the speeches and later in private, they agreed with a good deal of it. There was no compulsion about this; if they were bored or disagreed, they were apt to slip away, either with an excuse or without one. If they became really tired of a councillor, they need not re-elect him after his two-year term was over. The councillors were the first, I was told, to change the people's thinking. The "committee" were not given to such oratory; people would never have tolerated it; their job was a humbler, purely executive one. But their actions were always in pursuance of the general principles enunciated by councillors; they were made "legitimate" by what the councillors said. "Committee" was definitely not the mouthpiece of Australian authority, but of the council. This was an ambiguous position, as I already pointed out, because the courts on which the councillor depended as ultimate sanction, was Australian-controlled. Nonetheless, at the level of face-to-face relationships, which mattered most, the "committee" had to rely on his own authority.

Some were not very successful; in Sivepa, the "committee" was at the same time clan-leader and feast-leader; it was therefore very hard indeed to ignore him. In villages where the feast-leader stood aloof from the Council structure, the malcontents could gather round him and defy Council authority until the patrol officer intervened. This is what happened in Garoubi, a neighbour-village to Sivepa. Here traditional and modern authority were vested in different persons, whereas in Sivepa both were vested in the same person.

The pattern of religious leadership was much more subtle. First, at Sivepa and Inonda, as in many other places, cooperation with the mission began long before anyone was baptised or even a catechist. At Sasembata, the first phase started after the war. The Orokaiva were glad to have the mission because it provided education for their children (this was the advantage always cited) and no doubt also because of some benefits in the form of European goods. In return for these benefits, the local people helped with land and with labour for buildings, carrying, etc. The man on whose property the rice was grown before the eruption was not, and never became a Christian but died a Pagan in 1963. It was consistent with Orokaiva religious concepts to ask a deacon to bless the seeds of a European crop--the Orokaiva do not know the magic appropriate to this crop, whereas the deacon could be presumed to know.

None of the people now living at Sivepa were baptised before the eruption. After the post-eruption Sasembata station was established a large number of people were soon accepted as catechists and on 6 March, 1963, 1165 people from all parts of the Sasembata district were baptised, including some from Sivepa; there was a second mass baptism in September, 1955, and by this time at least one lineage (or plant emblem group) in Sivepa was wholly Christian. The most senior man in

794 organised contact. After each Sunday service, a meeting of the church council is held at the church, presided over by the pastor, at which the needs of the parish are discussed. The pastor may also call [431] meetings during the week. No payment is ever made for work done for the church, but the pastor has on occasion made a small distribution of tobacco, at which the people were very pleased. Much of the burden falls on the member of the church council for each of the villages. [623] While the after-service meetings at the church are open to all church members, the council has its own meetings and the member for the village has an especially close relationship with the church. It is he who calls together the people in the morning when building work is to be done, or who makes other announcements, in the usual way by standing in front of his house in the evening and speaking in the dark, heard by everyone in the houses.

614 This man belongs to the plant emblem group baptised in the early 613 1950's, but interestingly enough he did not, like most of the early 794 converts belong to the Jegase clan. Plant emblem groups (or lineages) are not necessarily segments of a clan and in this case the sasaha plant emblem group includes a few Seho people, who were baptised with the rest of their lineage. It was one of these Seho men who was chosen as church councillor, the choice being reportedly made by the [224] pastor himself. Shortly before my arrival in Sivepa, this man was given the office of hunting expert. Previous to this, every clan had had its own hunting expert, but now this church council member was the only one. The task of the hunting expert is the performance of magic prior to a collective hunt, decision of the time and place and the privilege of being the first man who enters the bush, together with his wife, for hunting. "What kind of magic does Dunstan perform?" I inquired. He invites the pastor down to the village and the pastor blesses the guns and other appurtenances of the hunt, while the old magic is no longer performed. In the neighbouring village of Sasembata, I found that this innovation had not been adopted.

794 In Inonda, all religious organisation was in the hands of the 184 transport driver and one-time councillor, who played the role of lay-preacher on Sundays, using as a chapel a building originally intended for the storage of coffee. Church was attended by the Christian half of the village but I saw no Christian activities apart from the weekly service. The mission teachers and the Anglican school were located at Hohota, three miles away from Inonda. Most of the modern organisation roles noted for Sivepa were, in fact, found at Inonda but every one of them was allocated to the same man, the transport driver. He acted as "committee;" he made the kind of speeches that were made in Sivepa by the councillor and the sanitary inspector (these functionaries very rarely came to Inonda); he was middleman for the mission; he was agricultural entrepreneur and his father was the feasting leader, leaving to him the day-to-day organisation of the feast given in June, 1967. The price for this far-reaching centralisation was a lack of participation in most of the activities by at least half the population, whereas participation was far more general at Sivepa.

653 a council responsibility. While the rebuilding of the arterial road
[491] from Popondetta and Kokoda was an expensive (and seemingly interminable) responsibility of the government, the side roads became the council's responsibility. Similarly, the government built the major hospitals while the council looked after the village aid posts.

652 The council's revenue mainly came from taxes--a head tax of $8 for men and $1 for women. This is the only personal tax directly
[687] levied among Orokaiva village people and has replaced the government head tax. Its collection was not a government but a council responsibility, although defaulters could, of course, be brought before a magistrate and sentenced to a term in a government jail. Councillors explained to the villagers that the taxes they paid went to pay for their roads, aid posts, water supplies, etc. The government hoped that villagers would be more ready to pay their taxes if they could see tangible local benefits to justify them. One effect of the system was that villagers became very interested to see that as much as possible of the tax money should be spent in their own locality. They rapidly developed a strong propensity for parish-pump politics. When I visited Sasembata district first, there was little evidence of any council projects in the Sasembata wards. People objected to paying
[664] their taxes: they were not getting anything for them. Pressure resulted in roading improvements and plans for a comprehensive water supply for the area. Councillors who did not fight successfully for such causes were liable to miss re-election.

The head tax manifestly acted as a significant economic incentive.
[961] A man who grew no coffee and earned no money could not pay his tax. Even if a man could not be bothered harvesting all his coffee, he would certainly harvest enough to pay his tax. Some men who had no coffee took plantation jobs a month or two before the tax was due. I noticed this in two cases at Inonda; most of the Sivepe men had coffee
[687] gardens and did not need to work outside. For the first time, tax defaulters in 1966 were actually jailed for two months. In one village, Kendata, there were as many as 50 defaulters who fought the police and ran into the bush; in Sivepe there were four, all without coffee gardens.

In spite of this tension, people generally supported the ideology
[77] of the council: they wanted the "new age" and they wanted the kind
●623 of services that were supplied by the council. At the same time it was never forgotten that behind the tax-gathering councillors stood the government police, armed and ready to make arrests if the councillors were resisted or attached, as sometimes happened. Those who did not pay and tried to escape arrests were judged by the conformists to be ignorant men, unwisely looking for trouble. On the other hand, people deeply sympathised with them. People wanted the "new age," but they did not like the element of compulsion that went with it. They re-elected the councillors who compelled them because they held the Australian authorities, not the councillors, to be directly responsible.

Section 5: Attitudes Towards Government

829 Orokaiva attitudes towards the government have three aspects
that must be carefully distinguished: attitudes to individual government
servants, to the power structure and to the values represented by the
563 government. As for attitudes to individual public servants, I have
no evidence for any change in attitudes. In a subtle way every white
man with whom Orokaiva come into contact is tested according to various
criteria: fairness, courtesy, willingness to reciprocate gifts and
services, willingness to eat with the people (a rare phenomenon,
this) and above all, his behaviour in the constant battle of wits
and inner strength in which Orokaiva delight. A man such as Mr. Kaad
who was a good man by all these tests, was remembered with much affection;
others, though excellent by the criteria of the Australian public
service, would be resented or soon forgotten.

657 The Orokaiva attitude to the power structure is determined by
177 a rather harsh history of earlier contacts, beginning with the murderous
régime of Monckton and culminating in the 1940's in the Japanese
conquest, the Allied re-conquest and the public execution of a small
band of Orokaiva who had sided with the Japanese. The welfare
orientation of the Australian government was perhaps never massively
demonstrated before the eruption of Mount Lamington. At the present
time this welfare orientation is well understood but the Orokaiva fear
the Australian power to compel their compliance. They use what
resources they have to keep this power within limits. They have found
that it is usually fruitless to disobey Australian commands openly,
but power can often be made ineffective if orders are misunderstood
or forgotten or evaded. Furthermore, it is a general rule among
Orokaiva to withhold information systematically from the taupa. It
took me some months to learn that even the simplest information I
had about the Orokaiva was often unknown to Europeans, not because
they were not interested but because nobody would tell them. On a
few occasions when an official asked me a question I would say that
any of his "driver-boys" (that was how they referred to their drivers)
could answer it and the official would answer: "Nobody will tell me.
They all say they don't know." This is indeed a potent weapon against
colonial administrators.

657 It would be wrong to assume that this attitude is directed
against Europeans in general, because there was great variation in
177 the treatment of individuals, and also, it is not directed against
the values Australians are trying to introduce. The avoidance of
communication is largely, I think, a device in the power struggle
between the colonial government and its subjects. The Orokaiva do
what they can to avoid being dominated. In this context, the setting
●[623] up of local government councils was a great step forwards. The councillors
do not meet with the same communication bar because the people know
that they can control them through the electoral machinery. Hence it

657 623 177 is the councillors who are most effective at communicating whatever they understand of European values and the Australians have been happy to reduce direct contact with the people to formal dealings in which intermediaries can definitely not be used. The Orokaiva say that it is only since the council was set up that their thinking began to change. While this is not to be believed, it would be correct to say that an ideology of change developed only through the mediation of the councillors. The humanitarian work done immediately after the eruption did not lead to ideological change because it did not set up effective mediating institutions.

his powers of black magic would be undermined by the church if he joined it. It seems likely that it was in part his influence which made Seho less inclined than Jegase to make outside contacts.

One of his sons, however, did leave the village to join the A. P. C., returning at the time of the eruption. It was this son (the second in seniority) who was chosen by Isemba as his successor to the leadership, as he had fallen out with the oldest one.

This son, baptised under the name of Lawrence in 1963, is now about 50 years of age, proud and withdrawn, and is both the feast-leader and the "committee" of Sivepe. His land holdings are relatively extensive; he has lent some of them on a year-to-year basis to mission personnel. He refuses to sell any of this land to the mission nor will he lend gardens to the mission as organisation. He may help an individual teacher; when that teacher leaves, the land reverts to him. At one time a teacher left just before the taro was ready for harvest; Lawrence took the land and the taro; if the successor of the departed teacher felt upset, he regarded this as a problem for the mission. For Lawrence, this was a grave political issue: if one such land transfer was agreed to, he felt this would effectively mean permanent occupation by the mission of all areas loaned by him.

In spite of appearances, this implied no anti-mission attitude. Lawrence was most interested in the benefits the mission could bring and supported the move of Sivepe to a location on Seho land, six chains from the mission, partly because he liked to be close. But he pursued a careful policy of balance of power. The same pragmatic approach marked his relations with government. He was among the first to acquire coffee trees and Malayan rubber trees; he was, as I have already said, a staunch advocate of the government's village improvement policies, but when the patrol officer called his one concern, as "committee" was to see him happily and speedily on his way again, preferably without incident.

During the year, the women's club wanted some land for their club house. He was on friendly terms with the secretary, who was his elder sister's grandchild and offered an ideal elevated site, between village and mission station which would have made the village entrance most impressive. He was a man who thought of things like that.

Lawrence has nine children, three married and three single daughters and three young sons. One of the daughters, rather against his will, married the most acculturated of the younger Jegase men; if such a thing as factionism existed at all in Sivepe, he and this younger man were clearly cast in the roles of opposing leaders. The second daughter married into Kongohambo, a mile from Sivepe. The third married a Samara man employed at Ilimo, but this man was said to maltreat his wife. Lawrence went to Ilimo and brought her home; this was regarded as quite proper even though bridewealth had been paid.

Lawrence was comparatively well off, largely because he was a good coffee producer, but also because he received bridewealth from three daughters, continuing gifts from his sons in law and from the

177 husbands of his sisters' daughters, as is customary. Most of all, he
623 was a careful man who put whatever he accumulated to the most prudent
471 use. In his capacity of clan leader and village leader, he controlled two corporate savings accounts, one of $158, the other smaller and secret; people had full confidence that deposits were entirely safe in his care. Though he would never express himself in such terms, he was actually leading his people into a state of solid and (hopefully) economically viable peasantry.

177 I asked him what he thought were the qualifications of a leader.
623 A leader, he said, must be very smart and understanding, have a lot of garden and make a feast; then the people will join him. They don't appoint him but he stands out by his farming, gardening, feasts. He
[159] is usually an elderly man.

Not only Lawrence, but also all other informants insisted that leadership was not hereditary, even though a leader may desire a certain son to succeed him. After the old leader is dead, the living are free to make their own decision. Lawrence rejected the idea that the councillors are the present leaders of the community. The ancestors, he said, decided what people ought to do. They had talked all this over. Then the "two-bob councillors" came; all they care about is to carry out the government's orders. They don't really direct the people. All the same, Lawrence was well aware of the influence of the councillors. It was when they were established, he said, that the old way of thinking was upset. The village constable did not make important changes, though sometimes people went to jail for some trouble. In spite of these views, Lawrence went to no particular trouble to keep old customs alive; when he entertained Togabou village, there were far fewer ceremonial features than I saw at a feast at Inonda.

115 As an informant I found him entertaining but of limited usefulness. He was at first very reluctant, and later allowed himself to be interviewed, using the occasion as a battle of wits. Never once did he tell a direct lie, but his answers were cunningly planned with the intent to mislead. My part of the game was to get at the truth and in this game he was a most ingenious opponent. Sometimes he tried to conceal what seemed to me a most innocuous piece of information; thus, he alerted me to institutions I might otherwise have overlooked. No statement he made could be accepted on its face value. In this he differed from other informants less in intent than in ingenuity.

123 The other key personalities at the time of my visit were all
159 Jegase. As I had been apportioned to my clan, they were much more helpful with information. They adopted me as a sort of fictional clansman whereas to Lawrence I must have been a fictional affine. My closest associate in the village was actually the son-in-law Lawrence
[55] disliked, Robert, my neighbour. He was a man of about 32 who had most of the qualities admired by the Orokaiva: a fine dancer, with charm, modest bearing, wisdom and foresight in handling social situations and conflicts; he was generous with his possessions and did not importune others for gifts; he was a good gardener, builder and worker, ready

665 out of acculturation, such conflict falls outside the charter of the corporation, so that I think one may still speak of a Christian and a pagan faction, even though the membership of these factions happens, for the time being, to coincide with the membership of lineages. Another problem is whether factions can exist only where there is leadership. One of the interests expressed in Dr. Barnett's list of variables is in "latent factions"--and these may exist where one side (or perhaps even both sides) have no leader. Thus, I think one can speak of factions in Inonda, even though the pagan faction had no leader; this deficiency did, however, stop factionalism in that village from becoming more manifest. Nonetheless, even though the pagans had no leadership comparable to that of the ruling family, they had their own informal ranking system and were able to formulate common opposition, e.g., against the women's club. This informal leader was an elderly woman who terrified my wife but whom I later found to be an intelligent informant. Even in Inonda, factionalism did not go nearly as deep as among the modern Maori: the feast at Inonda rallied all the families and the factions became submerged, in a cause with which everyone agreed.

Perhaps, the main reason why Orokaiva conflict groups do not qualify as "factions" by Nicholas' definition is that they are not structurally diverse. I mean by this that conflict groups tend to rally on one particular issue, but that on any other issue the personnel are bound to be different. An interesting example is furnished by [623] [660] the elections for the Local Government Council. A respectable Sivepe man entered as candidate and collected six votes. These were from his own extended family who felt bound to vote for him. The others did not support him on that occasion, but on another occasion, when he attempted to rape the wife of a clansman when drunk, he had a great number of supporters and the family who had almost suffered this grievous misfortune had hardly any supporters at all.

622 growing in the village and these were consumed in a big feast 18 months or so after his death. There was much discussion, during these 18 months, as to who should follow Amos as leader; when I left, no decision had been made. He had himself designated the son of his elder brother who died during the eruption, but this man is a government driver, living in Popondetta. The people would prefer a local man for leader, but there is no suitable resident member of Amos' own hae. and in practise it seems that the question of leadership was debated not so much by the people at large but by the men of Amos' hae and Amos' wife's hae--the latter also coming from a prominent Horeopa family. Some leadership roles were meanwhile being carried on by an adoptive half-brother of Amos' wife. This man, a mission teacher who was head of the Hohorita school, and one of my best informants (Harold Heru), was in charge of the preparations for the coconut feast commemorating Amos' death, but he deferred to Amos' brother's son (Michael) on the day of the feast itself, when Michael came over from Popondetta.

622 While these problems over ceremonial leadership were being pondered, it was obvious that for most ordinary day-to-day decisions, ●623 the most powerful man in the village was the councillor (Brian Aruha). Brian, though without any formal schooling, was employed by the government as an interpreter in the fifties. His employers formed a high opinion of him and it was probably not without their encouragement that he stood as a candidate for the Higaturu Council and was subsequently chosen by councillors as their chairman. In the view of senior government officials in Popondetta, Brian's knowledge of the history, activities and purposes of the council was unequalled in the district. He did not earn this reputation by craven conformity; indeed, I observed him at council meetings as a doughty opponent of the views of the government's advisory officer, even though he sometimes found himself arguing a strong case in a minority of one, for the other councillors tended to be rather deferential to the advisory officer.

622 Brian's power in Hohorita was much less absolute than Stephen's at Inonda because Hohorita has a far greater number of leading figures. 554 On the other hand, in the judging of disputes and in arranging the land conversion scheme described in earlier chapters, he wielded more power than any single person in Sivepe. In contrast with the Inonda and Sivepe leaders, Brian did not belong to the leading clan (Horeopa) nor to either of the other three well-represented clan groups. His real home was Sombou; at Amos' coconut feast he appeared as the leader of the dominant Sombou clan and in that capacity received gifts in recognition of services which this village had rendered after Amos' death--the traditional services expected from a neighbouring, closely-related village. Thus the power he wielded at Hohorita had the effect of spreading power beyond the dominant Horeopa clan, thus helping in the integration of the different clan groups.

622 Brian was assisted by a "committee" man who also came from one 624 of the smaller clan groups and who had at one time been a medical